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On 5 October, the white electorate in South Africa held a referendum to ascertain whether or not it wished to reconstitute the Dominion as a Republic: out of a total vote of almost 1,800,000, the measure was carried by a majority of less than 80,000 votes. This was a victory of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's pro-Republic Nationalist Party (with its overwhelmingly Afrikaner following) and a defeat for the largely ethnically English white opposition, which clings to Commonwealth ties and would rather retain Queen Elizabeth as Chief of State (and the concomitant Commonwealth trade preferences) than a locally elected President. As Prime Minister Verwoerd has pointed out, the change by no means requires that if South Africa becomes a Republic it will automatically have to leave the Commonwealth. There are other Republics in the Commonwealth now - Pakistan and India are examples. But an independent Republic can only remain in the Commonwealth with the consent of all of 11 members of that institution. And it is highly probable that some of the Asian and African members, if given such an opportunity, will oppose membership of South Africa because of its policies of racial segregation and apartheid. Malaya, Ghana, and Nigeria, for example, almost certainly will oppose and, in South Asia, it is probable, that India (at least) would also. It may be remembered that Gandhi fought many a legal battle against racial discrimination against South African Asians for years while he was in South Africa, before he started to struggle for independence in the Indian subcontinent and long before the apartheid system was devised. Since the referendum, there have been hints even of secession from the Union of Natal Province, largely English-speaking; at the same time the more moderate Afrikaners, especially in Cape Province, have expressed the view in private that the majority vote for a Republic was not large enough to justify its establishment. The Natal suggestion is not likely to be acceptable either to Afrikaners or to English-speaking groups in the Union but any Afrikaner opposition to the move toward establishment of a Republic is likely to be buried by traditional Afrikaner solidarity. In objecting to admission of a South African Republic to the Commonwealth, states like Ghana, Nigeria, and Malaya, are likely to require a major change in South Africa's apartheid policies (which is highly unlikely to be fulfilled) before these states, and perhaps others are likely to agree.

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On the night of 13 October, during the debate on the Soviet resolution calling for the immediate independence of all colonies, Premier Khrushchev's temper or his tactical belligerence, or both, led him to insult Senator Lorenzo Sumulong, Chairman of the Philippine Senate Foreign Relations Committee and member of the Philippine UN delegation. When Sumulong was speaking and explaining that he favored the resolution condemning colonialism, but adding it should cover eastern European peoples "swallowed up by the Soviet Union," Khrushchev shouted, "this jerk -- this stooge of American colonialism." Khrushchev then took off his shoe and brandished it at Assembly President Frederick H. Boland, of Ireland, who tried to gavel the session to order. Khrushchev may still have been reacting to the strong stand the chief Philippine delegate, Francisco Delgado took on 5 October in support of the UN action in the Congo and Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. Delgado's speech put the Philippines firmly on record opposing colonialism, supporting the "just aspirations of the Algerian people", as well as praising UN action in the Congo and Hammarskjold as a "world statesman who incarnates our hopes for a United Nations to which the little peoples of the world can repair for their security and salvation." Delgado pointed out that the role of the United States in colonizing the Philippines had been one opposed by Filipinos and motivated by economic aggrandizement. He added, however, "you can discuss, argue and talk back to the Americans. One wonders what would happen to a Latvian, or an Estonian, or a Lithuanian who talked back to Khrushchev. We know, of course, what happened to the Hungarians who did just that." It is interesting to note that after his outburst at Senator Sumulong, Khrushchev apparently realized the error of his approach of both personally abusing and apparently writing off the Filipinos as so completely tied to the US as to be beyond the reach of possible Communist control, and he corrected himself by inviting Sumulong to visit the USSR to see for himself whether its people were free as well as suggesting that there was "hope" for the Philippine people throwing off the US yoke.

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302. Approaching Japanese Elections

Prime Minister IKEDA Hayato is expected to call general elections for some time in the latter part of November, probably, around the twentieth. The elections will follow dissolution of the Diet to take place during the October special session. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has been virtually forced to call elections by the events of May and June 1960 surrounding the ratification of the United States-Japan Security Treaty and the resignation of former Premier KISHI Nobusuke. Since coming into office in July, IKEDA, is following a more public relations-conscious policy and gives the appearance of being more considerate of the opposition than his predecessor. His purposes in calling the elections are twofold: to obtain a vote of public confidence for his cabinet and policies, and to demonstrate public support for the Security Treaty. It is most likely that he will succeed in these objectives. Since the formation of the IKEDA Cabinet, the LDP has displayed strength in both prefectural gubernatorial elections and nation-wide public opinion polls.

The opposition Japan Socialist Party (JSP), on the other hand, has found itself lacking issues, IKEDA having usurped some of its social welfare programs, such as higher wages for civil servants, increased social security coverage and tax reduction and is somewhat plagued by a public identification with Sino-Soviet Bloc interests, particularly in its overly friendly attitude towards Communist China. The extent to which the JSP will profit from exploitation of the assassination of ASANUMA Inejiro, JSP Chairman, on 12 October, will depend upon its ability to convince the Japanese populace that a resumption of "government by assassination", as in the pre-World War II period, is imminent, and that the IKEDA government was in some way responsible for the assassination, as well as, whether it can successfully picture itself as the major opponent to the return of fascism to Japan. Another factor, difficult to assess, is the size of the sympathy vote that seems likely to develop in the aftermath of the assassination. ASANUMA enjoyed considerable popularity in the party, with the leftist SOHYO labor federation, and among the people. He was a very energetic individual and was quick to seize upon popular issues. Despite his personal popularity, there is much to indicate that ASANUMA's position as Party Chairman was and would have continued to be a tenuous one. He had been severely criticized from various quarters of the JSP for the pro-Communist reputation the party was acquiring as a result of his statement that American imperialism was the common enemy of Japan and China and his general proclivity for the Communist Bloc, especially for Red China. There was speculation that after the November Diet elections moves would be made within the party to oust ASANUMA from his position as Chairman. During the several weeks prior to his assassination, the JSP was in the process of adopting a new posture of friendship for the United States as well as the Communist countries. This represented an election gimmick and did not reflect any change in basic orientation.

The more moderate Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) has to all appearances been unable to get its campaign off the ground, lacking both candidates and issues, and being unable to establish itself in the public image as a distinctive political party. It has been characterized by the JSP as being a

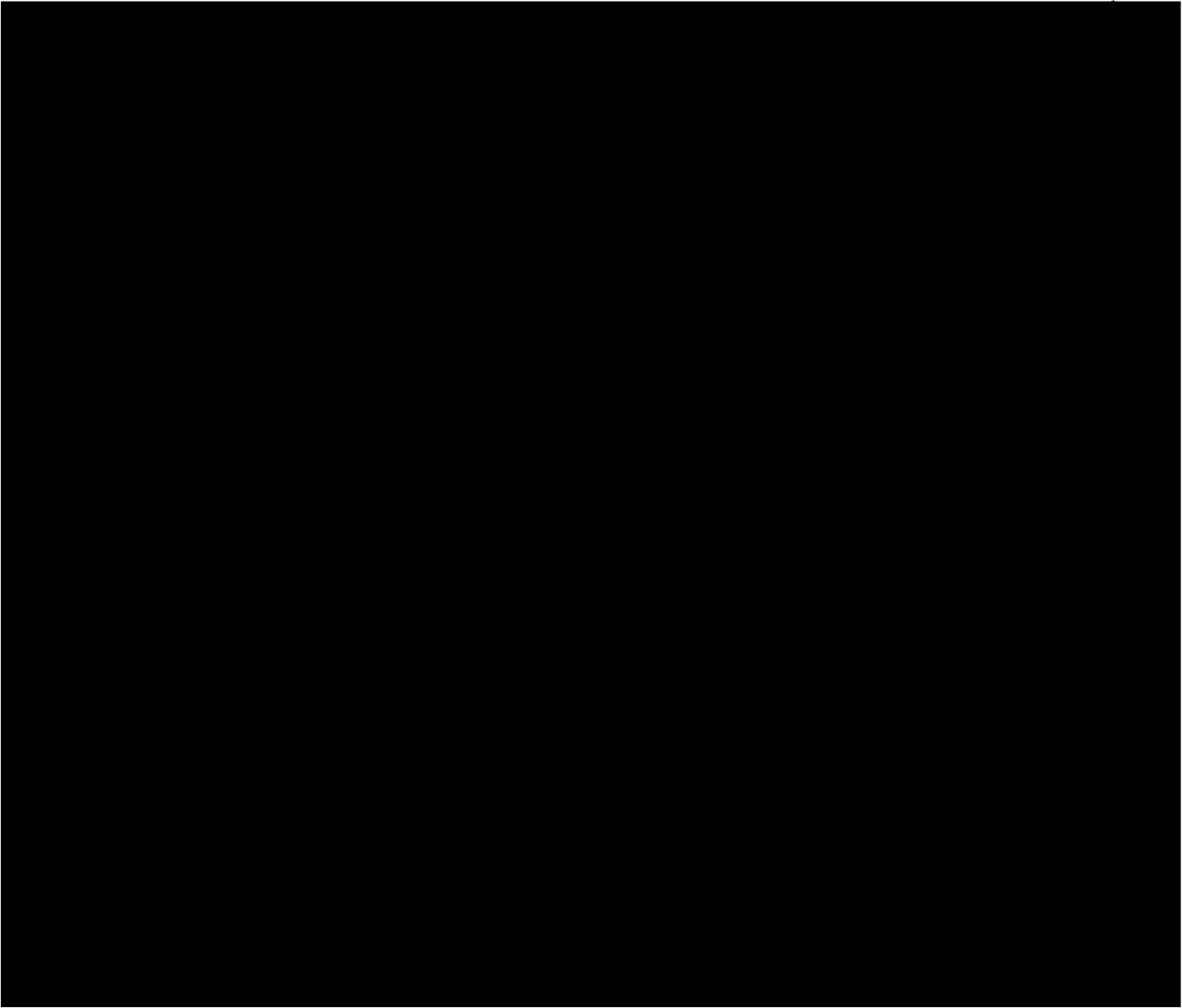
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a second conservative party and is frequently referred to as a splinter party by the Japanese press. The DSP is a small and young party, whose future depends to a large degree upon the showing it makes in the coming elections.

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On 3 October 1960, Janio da Silva Quadros swept to victory in Brazil's national elections by a margin of almost two to one over his nearest rival in a three-cornered fight and will be inaugurated President on 31 January 1961. Quadros was the candidate of a coalition of traditional "out" parties, and his election marks a distinct break with the past thirty years of Brazil's political history.

Janio Quadros, a 43 year old lawyer, has had a meteoric political career. Elected to the City Council of Sao Paulo in 1947, he rose to governor of that province, Brazil's richest and most populous, in 1955. In 1958 he won election to the lower house of Brazil's Congress, which position he held when elected president. In this short time Quadros rose from obscurity to a leader known throughout Brazil as a crusader for the poor, opponent of entrenched privilege, an indefatigable worker, brilliant orator and man with an almost compulsive sense of mission. His motto and the keystone of his political career is "honesty and hard work". His symbol as governor of Sao Paulo was a broom and he has pledged a vigorous clean-up of the national political contradictions. At the outset of the campaign, he visited Cuba in an apparent bid to identify himself with the Castro revolution, which is popular among the Brazilian lower classes. During the campaign, however, he avoided support of Castro, and in his initial post-election press conference he made a strong statement against dictatorship, although avoiding naming any specific dictators. In this same conference he indicated he was ready to trade with all countries including Communist China. On foreign policy generally, however, Quadros stated he intends to follow an independent policy, but one oriented firmly toward the West. Quadros is pledged to a strong anti-inflationary economic policy at home, one dedicated to speeding economic development. He shares the Kubitschek ideal of making Brazil a leader in Latin American developments and a bridge to the new nations, especially of Africa. This role Brazil is uniquely qualified to play because of its long history of excellent race relations exemplified in part by its historic liberal immigration policy toward Asians.

Quadros will undertake a world tour before his inauguration which may take him to all the capitals of Latin America, Europe, and Asia, and includes the United States.

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304. Albania Turns to China

During the Rumanian Party Congress (June 1960), at which the Sino-Soviet dispute was aired for the first time, Khrushchev pointedly elicited the support of the Communist delegates for the Soviet position. Although several of the delegates have had serious misgivings about Khrushchev's detente tactics (the hard-line proclivities of such inveterate Stalinists as Ulbricht and Novotny are well known), they apparently felt obliged to heed Khrushchev's S. O. S. and to unite behind the Soviet position. The more striking for its contrast was the stand taken by Albania, the smallest and presumably most loyal of the Soviet Union's Eastern European satellites, whose delegate to the Rumanian Congress not only failed to support Khrushchev but voiced the traditional Albanian predelection for the hard-line position adopted by Communist China. Hysni Kapo, unlike the other speakers, did not make an obeisance to Khrushchev's address and failed to mention "peaceful coexistence" and the 20th and 21st CPSU Congresses. Instead, he directed his remarks to a particularly violent attack on imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism in typical Albanian (and Chinese) style.

A resolution which followed the July 1960 Central Committee plenum of the Albanian Communist Party specifically indorsed Kapo's stand at the Bucharest Congress, stating that the Central Committee "completely and unanimously approved the attitude" of the Albanian delegation. The resolution, while praising the Bucharest Congress' reaffirmation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration, confined its attacks to revisionism, rather than following the Soviet lead in equating the evil of dogmatism with revisionism. By this resolution, the Albanian Communist leadership has officially and publicly committed itself to a policy which reflects Chinese rather than Soviet views.

The need for the Albanian CP to maintain the spectre of a hostile and threatening Western imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism has caused the Albanian leaders to shudder at any talk of detente or peaceful coexistence since they apparently fear that any improvement in East-West relations would undermine the basis of their rigid Stalinist rule. The Albanian leadership has consistently used an anti-Yugoslav line in order to identify themselves with Albanian national interests as well as to justify its orthodox domestic policy. Since Moscow had been in the habit of allowing Tirana a certain amount of leeway to cope with special Albanian problems, it was assumed that the Soviets were not overly concerned with Albanian deviations from the Soviet line. Now, however since the Albanians have openly questioned Soviet leadership in the bloc and have turned to an alternate source of authority, the USSR can be expected to exert political and economic pressure to bring Albania back in line.

Most recently, the Albanian leaders have used the Chinese 11th anniversary celebrations as the occasion for an explicit reaffirmation of their support for Peiping's ideological positions. The Albanian delegate to the Chinese celebrations, Abdyl Kellezi, Central Committee member and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in heaping unlimited praise on the Chinese comrades, referred to the Chinese Communist Party as "firmly defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism"... "faithfully adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles"... "All this shows how correct the line of your party and government is." In his response, CHIANG Nan-Hsiang, alternate member of the Central

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304: (Cont.)

Committee and President of the China-Albania Friendship Association, hailed the "vigorous, militant Marxist-Leninist" Albanian Party stating that "neither towering mountains nor deep oceans could separate the Chinese and the Albanian peoples in their fraternal friendship. We are both faithful to Marxism-Leninism. We are both carrying out an unrelenting struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and fighting shoulder to shoulder to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism...."

Soviet displeasure is apparent. In the 7 September listing of Eastern European delegations to the UNGA, Pravda failed to mention the Albanians. Premier Shehu who headed the Albanian contingent (Hoxha was the only Eastern European party leader of a country with UN membership who did not attend) got a chilly reception from other Eastern European delegations. According to Western press accounts, Shehu was pointedly ignored by Khrushchev who refused to shake hands with him. The 4th Congress of the Albanian Communist Party, previously scheduled for November, has been put off for one month. In the interval, the November meeting of Communist leaders in Moscow which is expected to deal with the ideological differences between the Soviet Union and China and which presumably prompted the postponement of the Albanian Congress, may throw some light on Albania's allegiances. Meanwhile, Tirana's continued refusal to conform to the policies laid down by the USSR represents the latest challenge to Soviet leadership and bloc unity. Moreover, by turning to Communist China for support, Albania is establishing what must be regarded in Moscow as an ominous precedent.

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305. Finland and the USSR Approved For Release 2000/08/27 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000100020012-7

Late in November, President Kekkonen of Finland is scheduled to journey to Moscow to return Chairman Khrushchev's surprise visit to Helsinki in early September and at the same time to conclude a most-favored-nation trade agreement which the Soviets demand before they agree to Finland's association with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Taken in the context of current developments, this is another example of Russia's use of the "carrot and the stick" technique to negate any move on Finland's part toward closer economic and political ties with Western Europe. Economically, Finland is currently enjoying a considerable measure of prosperity. This condition aids in keeping Kekkonen's minority Agrarian Party in power. The well-being of Finland's economy is largely tied to the Finno-Soviet trade agreement and all political parties are aware of Russia's immediate presence. The two key provisions of the Khrushchev-Kekkonen communique, issued at the close of Khrushchev's visit, were: (a) an agreement to "do all within their (the USSR and Finland) power to keep northern Europe outside the field of international tension and controversy" (that is, to keep Northern Europe neutral); (b) to make Finland's association with the EFTA conditional on tighter economic ties with the USSR. In the opinion of most observers inside and outside of Finland, the net result of these negotiations will be to keep Finland more closely responsive to the wishes of the USSR.

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Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev began wooing the small nations, particularly the new African states, almost immediately upon his arrival in New York to attend the UNGA session. He held private meetings with the leaders of these nations, feted them as the honored guests at elaborate social affairs, and attended in person all similar affairs given by them. The major proposals he presented to the UNGA were probably intended to appeal to the small, new and neutralist nations. He proposed to add five neutralist representatives to the ten-nation disarmament commission. His proposal for the reorganization of the Secretariat, provides veto power for members of a triumvirate which is to be made up of a Communist and Western representative and a neutralist. He demanded the UNGA, as a whole, hold a special session on disarmament and that the assembly vote to endorse "complete independence forthwith" for all colonies.

Khrushchev was unable to make progress toward these objectives and got no support for his veto plan for the Secretariat. It is interesting to note the change that occurred in the treatment Radio Moscow gave the new nations. On 20 September, for example, the wooing posture was abandoned, and the Afro-Asian group of nations were roundly condemned for failing "to display sufficient determination to condemn" the United States policy in Africa and Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's handling of the Congolese situation. Radio Moscow's propaganda effort in anticipation of the UNGA meeting was massive, amounting to as high as 29% of its total output in early September. Much of this material was aimed at the new nations and was highly flattering -- until the voting went against the Soviets. Thereafter, the scolding tone, noted above, became the characteristic of the treatment afforded these countries. At the same time, Khrushchev's personal behavior became increasingly boorish, brash and insulting. His table pounding, and his removing his shoe and waving it at Assembly President Frederick Boland of Ireland were among the most amazing incidents in the annals of international debate. It is interesting to note these tactics paralleled Comintern guidance originated in 1920 on how to disrupt parliamentary procedures. (See ADDENDUM SHEET)

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307. Communist Military Assistance to Non-Bloc Countries

Although their propaganda rarely mentions it, Soviet Bloc aid to developing countries includes arms as well as factories. It is estimated that countries receiving arms aid obtained \$822,000,000 worth of military equipment during the period 1 January 1954 to 30 June 1960; total aid received by these countries was \$1,750,000. Cuban leaders have boasted that they are receiving arms from the Bloc, and that they have "heavy artillery, mortars of all calibers and the best weapons of war", and "better arms and rifles than the Yankees". A recent photograph in the New York Times showed Cuban militiamen carrying rifles which we have identified as being Czech in origin. Another photograph in Life (3 October 1960) showed a crate of Czech hand grenades which had been opened in Leopoldville. In the first half of 1960, there were an estimated total of 1,225 Bloc military technicians in the UAR, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Indonesia. It is also estimated that 4,220 individuals travelled from these latter countries to the Bloc for military training between January 1955 and June 1960. The UAR has received MIG-15's, IL-28's, T-34 tanks, submarines, artillery, small arms and torpedo boats; Indonesia has received MIG-15's, IL-28's and Avia transport planes. (FYI: some of these countries had tried to obtain arms from the US and were turned down, a point we need not stress. Also, the US desires to keep the arms race from erupting in the new states in Africa, but will supply arms if the new states appear determined to ask for Russian assistance.

Like all Bloc foreign aid, the military aid program is partly a response to the success of the American Marshall Plan and Mutual Security programs, but it is all on a loan basis, and must be repaid. By its military aid program, the Bloc builds lasting economic ties through the requirement for repayment, which makes the recipient countries dependent on Bloc markets, and commits the recipients to Soviet arms patterns and tactics, making it technologically difficult for them to collaborate with the West, and making them dependent on the Bloc for spare parts. The overall purpose is to create trouble and gain new footholds, rather than actually aid the countries involved. Unlike US aid, Soviet military assistance is not tailored to the recipient country's ability to pay or use, and is not even calculated to help the country concerned win its battles. The distribution pattern is significant: except in the case of Afghanistan, there is little actual connection with the requirements of Soviet security, and in terms of military power, the aid does not constitute a threat to the United States. The Soviets are simply fishing in troubled waters. If the recipients have difficulty paying for the equipment, or get involved in local adventures, this is all the better for the Bloc.

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Attachment to Item #304

U N C L A S S I F I E D 24 October 1960

At a mass rally to welcome the Delegation of the Albania-China Friendship Association, Chiang Nan-Hsiang, alternate member of the CCP Central Committee and President of the association spoke at the rally. Referring to Albania's great achievements in socialist construction, he stressed that these most powerfully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system and prove that the political line of the Albanian Workers Party is completely correct. This is of great encouragement to the Chinese people who are now constructing their own socialist motherland.

He stressed that the Albanian Workers Party headed by Comrade Hoxha is a vigorous, militant, Marxist-Leninist Party, flesh and blood with the masses. "The glorious Albanian Workers Party and the Albanian people have consistently held high the radiant banner of Marxism-Leninism, are faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, firmly defend the Moscow declaration of the Communist and Workers Parties of socialist countries, and persistently carry on a determined, uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism as represented by Yugoslavia's Tito clique, so as to strengthen the great unity of the socialist camp."

He strongly condemned the Tito clique, the running dog of US imperialism and traitor to the world proletariat, for its recent criminal activities in brazenly intruding across the border of Albania and attacking Albania's border defense forces and peaceful inhabitants. He said that the heroic Albanian people who showed revolutionary proletarian heroism in the fight in the face of sinister enemies had won hearty respect and love from the Chinese people.

Chiang Nan-Hsiang concluded that neither towering mountains nor deep oceans could separate the Chinese and the Albanian peoples in their fraternal friendship. "We are both faithful to Marxism-Leninism. We are both carrying out an unrelenting struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and fighting shoulder to shoulder to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the great solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and world peace. So the friendship between the peoples of our two countries is most intimate, eternal and unbreakable."

A. Kellezi, member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Chairman of the Albanian-China Friendship had the following to say:

The Albanian people cherished boundless love for the heroic fraternal Chinese people, for the glorious Chinese Communist Party, and for its outstanding leader, the well-tested Marxist-Leninist comrade Mao Tse-Tung.

Praising New China's striking advances, Comrade Kellezi pointed out that the reason for these successes was that the Chinese Communist Party had tempered itself with the immortal ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the correct political, ideological, and economic lines of the Chinese Communist Party under the wise and flexible leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung.

He said that the Chinese Communist Party had been tempered in protracted struggles and it firmly defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The great Chinese People's Revolution was the second most important event in the 20th Century, second only to the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party, he continued, faithfully adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles, speedily turned China into a strong socialist country in accordance with the concrete circumstances of China. "The Albanian people regard these achievements as their own, and as the achievements of the entire socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union".

Attachment to #304 (Cont.) U N C L A S S I F I E D 24 October 1960

"All this shows how correct the line of your party and government is. As a matter of fact, you have always marched forward along the correct Marxist-Leninist line as delineated by the party and Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. Nobody can possibly obliterate your great achievements."

Comrade Kellezi also dwelt on the great achievements in socialist construction attained by Albania, which had changed from a backward into an advanced country.

The fount of these achievements of the Albanian people were the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the glorious Albanian Workers Party headed by its founder, the Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha. "In the whole course of its revolution, our party has all along followed its own correct Marxist-Leninist line. Our party has never departed and will never depart from its Marxist-Leninist position."

He said "Our enemies, imperialism and its agents the Yugoslav revisionists, have left no stone unturned in their attempts to wreck the bonds between our party and the people and to split our party, but they have failed and will continue to meet with failure. The peoples of Albania and China are linked by profound unbreakable friendship which has been tempered by our two parties and by Comrade Hoxha and Mao Tse-Tung personally", he stated.

Kellezi said that both the peoples of Albania and China treasured the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. They were both fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletariat internationalism and were striving to expose and oppose imperialism headed by the US and modern revisionism, particularly Yugoslav revisionism, which is the agent of imperialism "As the Moscow declaration of 1957 points, revisionism is the main danger in the contemporary world Communist and Workers movement," He stressed.

SOURCE: NCNA Radio teletype in English to Europe and Asia

Attachment to #304 (Cont.) U N C L A S S I F I E D 24 October 1960

SOURCE: NCNall October 1960 - Albanian delegation entertained at Shanghai Banquet

Chen Pei-Hsien, member of the Secretariat of the Municipal Committee of the CCP, enthusiastically hailed the great achievements made by the Albanian people in socialist construction under the leadership of the Albanian Labor Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Speaking of their courageous struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, he said that the Albanian people were heroic and dauntless. They had firmly opposed the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the US and vigorously supported the struggle of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin American against imperialism and colonialism. This had contributed tremendously to the safeguarding of peace in Europe and the world.

He continued that the glorious Albanian Labor Party and Albanian people, holding aloft the brilliant banner of Marxism-Leninism and being loyal to the principle of proletarian internationalism, had waged an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism represented by the Tito clique in Yugoslavia in order to preserve and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

He said that, though Shanghai on East China Coast was far away from Albania on the Adriatic Coast, the Shanghai people together with all the Chinese people were of one heart with the Albanian people. "We are firmly convinced that with the development of the world Communist movement and the socialist construction in our two countries, the friendly solidarity between the people of China and Albania will certainly be consolidated and strengthened with each passing day".

The Albanian people and the Albanian Labor Party cherished profound friendship for the Chinese people and the CCP. This friendship was deeply rooted and it was a fighting friendship. It would surely be strengthened under the guidance of the great leaders of the people of the two countries, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung and Comrade Enver Hoxha, said Vice Chairman Kellezi.

Speaking of the great achievements made by the Chinese people, he said that "In the factories and villages and everywhere we visited, we have seen that the Chinese working people are forging ahead, triumphantly holding high the three red banners of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune."

In the struggle to oppose and expose imperialism, US imperialism in particular, and in the fight against revisionism, Yugoslav modern revisionism in particular, the Albanian people will carry on the fight until the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism, the Vice Chairman declared.

SOURCE: NCNA Radio teletype in English to Europe and Asia

Attachment to Item #307

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24 October 1960

Economic and military aid extended to certain countries by the Bloc, 1 January 1954 - 30 June 1960.

	Total aid	Military aid
Egypt	\$651,000,000	\$313,000,000
Syria	177,000,000	128,000,000
Iraq	182,000,000	120,000,000
Afghanistan	217,000,000	38,000,000
Yemen	44,000,000	17,000,000
Indonesia	479,000,000	206,000,000
Total	1,750,000,000	822,000,000

(Unclassified)

This table does not include countries receiving economic aid only; the grand total of all Bloc economic and military aid is estimated at \$3.2 billion. (FYI, SECRET NOFORN [REDACTED] information indicates that Cuba, 25X1X7 Guinea, Finland, and possibly the Algerian rebels have received Bloc arms, in addition to the countries listed in the table above; it also puts total Bloc military aid at the higher figure of \$1,246,500,000 already provided and \$334,000,000 committed.)